Now you want to develop the people by imitating the ancient rulers, but the people of old were simple through honesty, while the people of to-day are clever through artificiality.

*The Book of Lord Shang* (3rd century BC; Duyvendak [ed.] 1928: 229)
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CONCISE CHRONOLOGY

From the founding of the Barue kingdom onwards

2<sup>nd</sup> half 15<sup>th</sup> century Probable founding of Barue kingdom within Mutapa Empire
1608 Barue kingdom independent from Mutapa Empire
± 1659 Temporary occupation of Barue under António Lobo da Silva
± 1767-1770 Makombe Gunguro active
1826-1830 <i>Sine regno</i> in the Makombe dynasty
1830s-1840s Nguni invade Barue
≤ 1853 Chipapata/Kabudu Kagoro becomes Makombe
1863 Manuel António de Sousa appointed captain-major
± 1868-1869 Chipapata/Kabudu Kagoro contains but fails to defeat De Sousa
± 1874 Chipapata/Kabudu Kagoro and M.A. de Sousa conclude a treaty; De Sousa marries Chipapata’s daughter
1880-1881 Chipapata/Kabudu Kagoro dies; M.A. de Sousa becomes leader of Barue
1888 Paiva de Andrada establishes the Mozambique Company
1891-1892 Hanga defeats M.A. de Sousa; Mozambique Company fails to subdue Barue
1902 Coutinho defeats Makombe Hanga; Barue loses independence
1914 <i>Indígenas</i> formally denied rights equal to those of Europeans
1917-1918 Barue revolt; definitive end of Makombe dynasty
1926 <i>Indigenato</i> system (including labour regime) formalized
1949 NESAM founded
1954 Tanganyika Mozambique Makonde Union founded
1957 Mozambique African Voluntary Cotton Society founded
late 1950s MANU founded
1960 Mueda massacre; UDENAMO founded; UNAMI founded
1961 <i>Indigenato</i> system legally abolished; UNEMO founded
1962 Frelimo founded; Eduardo Mondlane becomes Frelimo’s president
1964 Frelimo starts armed struggle
1965 COREMO founded
1966 Samora Machel becomes Frelimo’s army commander
1969, 3 February Mondlane killed
1970 Machel becomes Frelimo’s president
1972 Frelimo militarily active in Barue; Wiriyamu massacre
1974, 25 April Coup in Portugal ends fascist rule
1974, 7 September Lusaka Agreement decides Frelimo will head one-party state
1975 Nachingwea proceedings
1975, 25 June Mozambique independent; Machel president
1976, 9 August Nhazónia massacre, Barue
1976-1977 Start of war of Renamo against Frelimo government
1981 Renamo militarily active in Barue
1984 Nkomati Accord between Mozambique’s Frelimo government and South Africa’s National Party government;
First attempts to a political settlement of the Frelimo-Renamo war
1986 Machel dies in a plane crash; Chissano president
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992, 4 October</td>
<td>General Peace Agreement signed between Frelimo government and Renamo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>First multiparty elections won by Frelimo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>MDM founded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABBREVIATIONS, ACRONYMS, AND SYMBOLS

Common short forms like « NATO » and « USA » are considered understood.

Acronyms; short forms of organizations’ names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMETRAMO</td>
<td>Associação dos Médicos Tradicionais de Moçambique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEA</td>
<td>Centro de Estudos Africanos (UEM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNE</td>
<td>Comissão Nacional de Eleições</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COREMO</td>
<td>Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DGS</td>
<td>Direcção-Geral de Segurança (formerly PIDE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMS</td>
<td>Dr. Eduardo Mondlane Stichting (Amsterdam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frelimo</td>
<td>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPA</td>
<td>General Peace Agreement (between Frelimo and Renamo in 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IESE</td>
<td>Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>Movimento Democrático de Moçambique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFA</td>
<td>Movimento das Forças Armadas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MZN</td>
<td>New Mozambican metical (MZN 100 = ± USD 3.50 = ± ZAR 30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OMM</td>
<td>Organização da Mulher Moçambicana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONUMOZ</td>
<td>United Nations Operation in Mozambique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIDE</td>
<td>Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (later DGS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renamo</td>
<td>Resistência Nacional Moçambicana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCCI</td>
<td>Serviços de Centralização e Coordenação de Informações</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNASP</td>
<td>Serviço Nacional de Segurança Popular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAE</td>
<td>Secretariado Técnico da Administração Eleitoral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UEM</td>
<td>Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (Maputo)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>father</td>
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<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>sister; concatenation implies genitive (e.g. FBS means father’s brother’s son)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FN\textsuperscript{a} | field notes |
Q | question |
R | response |

[A] | archival material |
[H] | historical material, not necessarily in archives |
[L] | legislation |
[N] | material from newspapers |
[R] | recorded (part of) interview; see list in “Interviews” |
[U] | unrecorded (part of) interview |
Reading Committee:
Dr. Frank de Zwart
Dr. Klaas van Walraven
Prof.dr. Barbara Vis
Prof.dr. Mohamed Salih
Dr. Lars Buur
Dr. Inge Brinkman
Mozambique itself was the main inspiration for this thesis. In 1994 I started to work with the Dr. Eduardo Mondlane Foundation (EMS) in Amsterdam as a conscientious objector. One of my tasks was to co-organize a seminar on the results of the first multiparty elections in Mozambique in the same year (EMS 1995). Bringing together people from governmental and non-governmental development cooperation and political backgrounds, the seminar inspired me to do a research project on Mozambique. The seminar focussed much on national multiparty politics and the rôle of international donors and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) within the new political situation in Mozambique. The discussions reflected the general atmosphere in the Netherlands (apparently in contrast with the United States) that local forms of politics were not figuring much in policy-making with respect to Mozambique. “Democracy” was mostly associated with multiparty systems but I reasoned that at least sometimes somewhere other political forms than party politics must have existed that also could be associated with “democracy”. Thus came about the idea to carry out a research project including a field study on the topic of “democracy in Africa”. In 2008 I made a first short trip to Mozambique to enable me to make a decision on where to conduct the later field work. In 2009, 2010 and 2012 fieldwork was conducted in the District of Barue (~ Báruè, Barué), Manica Province, for a total of about 11 months. This was facilitated by research permission of the ARPAC (Instituto de Investigação Sócio-Cultural) in Chimoio, Manica Province.

As the famous African saying has it, a person is a person through other persons. This is especially visible in a PhD project, and my gratefulness goes to all those who contributed, directly or indirectly, to the formation of the manuscript across the decades. I am profoundly grateful to Professor Jan Abbink of the African Studies Centre in Leiden for his supervision. When I approached Professor Abbink about the project he was immediately interested and I was also honoured to be able to work at once with him to co-produce two books eventually published in 2008. It was Professor Abbink who provided me with the academic guidance concerning the specific Africanist and political-anthropological topics that form part of the project. Great thankfulness I also have for Dr. Maria Paula Meneses of the University of Coimbra, who was approached in 2011 to become co-supervisor of the project. With her experience she brought in specialist knowledge about Mozambique and provided guidance concerning historical argumentation. Together the two supervisors evaluated the different preliminary versions of the present text, rescuing me from many serious errors and omissions.
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